Influence of Immigration on The Ethnic Food Market in Canada

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Influence of Immigration on The Ethnic Food Market in Canada

Summary

The days when humans had to hunt, fish or farm their plot of land to feed themselves are long gone. Today, the food we need to survive is as close at hand as the nearest supermarket, grocery store or restaurant. As recently as 10 years ago, however, we were less familiar with much of that food. This phenomenon of food diversification is now a reality, and there is every reason to believe that it will only become greater as time goes on. One of the main reasons for this growing trend is, of course, immigration. Canada's population is becoming more heterogenous; increasingly, it is made up of people from different lands and different origins who bring their own particular eating habits with them. But other factors are at play as well: changing tastes; the growing demand for health foods; travel, which brings people into contact with other cultures and other habits; mixed marriages; a greater desire on the part of consumers to try new or foreign products; and so on and so forth. Still, immigration remains the primary cause, and its influence is currently being felt not only on food consumption in Canada but also, and above all, on the market availability of certain foods.

The changes in ethnic composition began some years ago with the decline in European immigrants and the increase in immigrants from other countries, countries which had traditionally sent few immigrants to Canada. Although persons of British and French origin continue to make up the majority of Canada's inhabitants, their percentage share of the population as a whole continues to decline, while in the case of other ethnic groups -- Asians in particular -- the opposite is true. However, immigration alone cannot fully explain the changes currently taking place in the food market. Today, with global marketing, we are witnessing the emergence of cuisines originating from countries and/or regions not typically sources of Canadian immigrants -- for example Mexico.

Major urban centres continue to attract the largest numbers of ethnic groups; Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal remain far and

away the cities of choice for new immigrants, although many are beginning to turn to other urban centres such as Calgary and Edmonton.

Ethnic groups continue to exhibit a different demographic profile from the population as a whole in terms of education, age and food consumption patterns. It is increasingly important for those who work in the agri-food sector to be aware of this phenomenon, and to factor these demographic realities into policies and programs in the coming years.

An explosion of ethnic restaurants and grocery stores is already evident, especially in those cities which are the preferred destinations of immigrants and which therefore have a more cosmopolitan population. Also, grocery store chains -- aware of this phenomenon -- are offering their customers more and more foreign products, aimed not only at ethnic shoppers, but at all consumers.

In the pages that follow, changes in the levels and sources of Canadian immigrants (particularly over the past few years) will be identified; these immigrant populations will be profiled in terms of their characteristics, food tastes and preferences and food spending patterns; and the ethnic food market in Canada will be examined to see how changes in our population make-up have influenced domestic food demand today and into the future.

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Influence of Immigration on The Ethnic Food Market in Canada

1. Introduction

According to demographics expert David K. Foot (2000), "demography helps us understand the past and predict the future. It influences our daily lives, plays an essential role in economic and social conditions and teaches us a lot about the products which will be in demand five years from now". Thus, in order to understand the Canadian food market and, above all, anticipate its future trends, a good grasp of the population makeup is essential.

A brief overview of Canada's history teaches us that immigration has always played an important role in the country's demographic and economic growth. Canada has always been inhabited by people who have settled here at various intervals and from different parts of the world. But apart from Aboriginal peoples, the two main groups have always been people of French and British origin. While this continues to be the case today, Canada's ethnic diversity has become more visible, and because of the pronounced changes in the sources of immigration (fewer European immigrants), the French and British influence has receded. Not only has this phenomenon altered Canada's ethnic composition, it has also influenced its food habits appreciably. People now talk about ethnic food. Why this expression? Generally, it is applied to a product with a limited distribution network and associated with a particular group of persons or ethnic community, whose members are its main consumers. For the purpose of this analysis, ethnic products will be defined as "those products associated with groups that are relative newcomers to Canada". The main aim is to encourage the various players in the food sector to consider the needs of these new consumers of foreign origin as much as those of the population in general. Still, it must be borne in mind that ethnic food is a dynamic term, changing over time and going through various stages. In fact, in recent years, ethnic foods have become increasingly referred to as "world foods" reflecting the globalization of food marketing and consumer demand.

Thus, a product viewed as ethnic today may after a period of time be looked on as common by the entire population and consumed by all. For example, according to a model developed by the consulting firm

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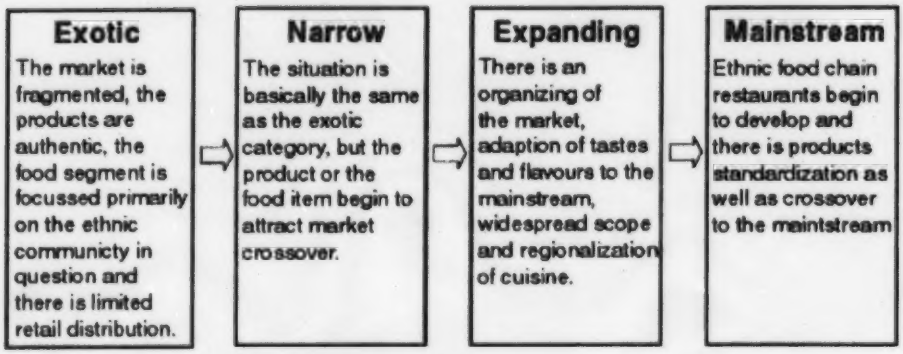
Thus, a product viewed as ethnic today may after a period of time be looked on as common by the entire population and consumed by all. For example, according to a model developed by the consulting firm Promar International in their report entitled Riding the US Ethnic Food Tide (1998), ethnic cuisines follow a common development process which involves four evolutionary stages:


Exotic
The market is fragmented, the products are authentic, the food segment is focussed primarily on the ethnic communicty in question and there is limited retail distribution.
Narrow
The situation is basically the same as the exotic category, but the product or the food item begin to attract market crossover.
Expanding
There is an organizing of the market, adaption of tastes and flavours to the mainstream, widespread scope and regionalization of cuisine.
Mainstream
Ethnic food chain restaurants begin to develop and there is products standardization as well as crossover to the maintstream

Looking at the various cuisines labelled as ethnic, Promar International prepared a graphic (shown above) which positions them within the developmental model according to their evolutionary stage in the US market, placing Italian cuisine in the mainstream stage, Mexican and Chinese in the expanding stage and Caribbean and Ethiopian in the exotic stage.

Canadian cuisine has not been classified although it can be assumed to be somewhat similar to the American cuisine. The fact remains that it is imperative for Canadian food companies to be fully aware of the trends above in order to take advantage of them.

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2. Immigration to Canada

2.1 History

With the exception of Aboriginal peoples, all the groups which currently make up Canada originated elsewhere. Figure 1 shows the level of immigration to Canada from 1860 to 1996. Looking at the graphic, we can see that according to the period, the economic and social conditions, the fluctuations of government policy and the opening and closing of our borders, there have been large swings in the number of newcomers, from less than 50,000 during low periods to nearly 400,000 at other times. We can also see that for the past 10 years or so, immigration to Canada has averaged over 200,000 a year. Although Figure 1 does not indicate the origin of the immigrants, we know that since the 1960s, Europe has no longer been the main source of immigrants to Canada. Indeed, the abolition of the policy by which Canada had given preference to European immigrants (Satzewich, 1992), as well as the political and economic difficulties experienced by other countries, resulted in a massive influx of immigrants from Asia, in particular, but also from Africa, the Caribbean and South America.

Figure 1: Immigration - Historical Perspectives 1860-1996

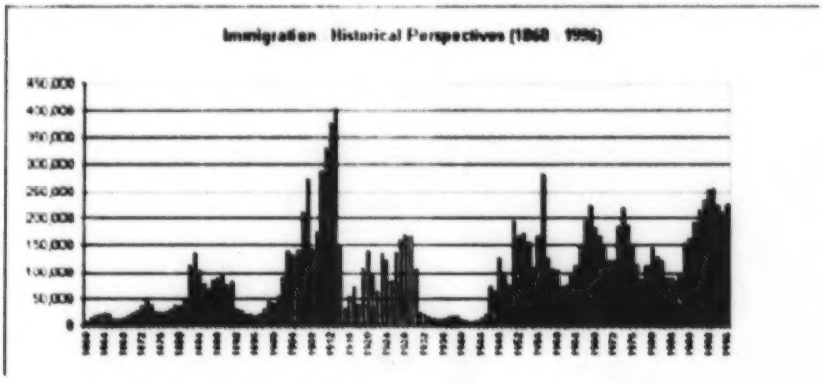


Table 1 Sources of immigration to Canada, 1994-95, 1995-96, 1996-97

	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997
Africa	14,598	14,862	14,218
Asia & Australasia	136,478	135,085	149,507
Europe	41,110	41,166	37,523
United States	5,851	5,466	5,467
South & Central America, Caribbean and Mexico	21,037	19,603	17,452
Other countries	1,049	806	714
All immigrants	220,123	216,988	224,881

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Table 1 shows the number of immigrants for three consecutive periods (1994-95, 1995-96 and 1996-97). Asia is clearly emerging as the major source of immigrants in recent years accounting for slightly more than two-thirds of immigrants in 1996-97 compared to 62% in 1994-95. All the other regions are stable to slightly lower over this period.

2.2 Current trends

While Europeans still account for the majority of immigrants living in Canada, for some years now the main source of newcomers has been Asia -- especially China. Looking at Table 2, as of 1996, 13.2% of all immigrants to Canada came from the United Kingdom and 6.7% from Italy. However, for the period prior to 1961, the corresponding figures are 25.2% and 15.3%, respectively. Hong Kong, India and the People's Republic of China, which did not even make the list of the top 10 countries of origin for immigrants prior to 1961, occupied the fourth, fifth and sixth places, respectively, of our immigrant population.

According to data gathered during the latest census in 1996, 47% of all immigrants living in Canada came from Europe, down from 67% in 1981. Asia and the Middle East accounted for 31% of immigrants by 1996, more than double the proportion they made up in 1981 (14%).

Table 2 Top 10 countries of origin for all immigrants and those who arrived pre-1961, Canada

Rank	Immigrants Arriving Pre-1951	Number	%	Rank	Immigrants Arriving by 1996	Number	%
1	United Kingdom	366,575	25.2	1	United Kingdom	666,540	13.2
2	Italy	161,730	15.3	2	Italy	332,110	6.7
3	Germany	107,270	10.2	3	United States	244,695	4.9
4	Netherlands	88,810	8.4	4	Hong Kong	241,095	4.8
5	Poland	57,820	5.5	5	India	236,930	4.7
6	United States	45,050	4.3	6	People's Republic of China	231,055	4.6
7	Hungary	33,215	3.1	7	Poland	193,375	3.9
8	Ukraine	27,640	2.6	8	Philippines	184,550	3.7
9	Greece	21,555	2	9	Germany	181,650	3.7
10	People's Republic of China	17,545	1.7	10	Portugal	158,820	3.2
	Others	229,720	21.7		Others	2,312,250	46.6
Total		1,054,930	100	Total		4,971,870	100

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Table 3 shows the main sources of immigrants for 1994, 1995 and 1996. None of the six leading countries during this period were European. Hong Kong continues leads the list and only three countries are not part of Asia or the Middle East.

If recent trends continue into the future, Canada's immigrants will come mainly from non-traditional sources, primarily Asia. In addition, strife and conflict in many parts of the world is resulting in increased immigration of refugees from Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, Rowanda), South America and Eastern Europe (Bosnia, Croatia, etc).

Table 3 The main sources of immigrants to Canada, 1994, 1995, 1996

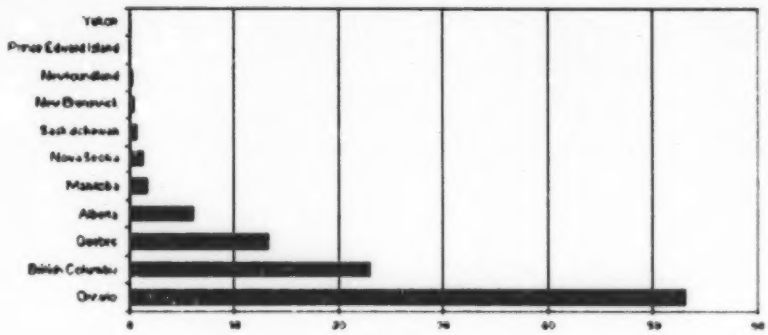
	1994			1995			1996		
Country	Rank	#	%	Rank	#	%	Rank	#	%
Hong Kong	1	44,169	19.7	1	31,746	14.9	1	29,871	13.3
India	3	17,225	7.7	2	16,215	7.6	2	21,166	9.4
Mainland China	4	12,486	5.6	4	13,290	6.3	3	17,479	7.8
Taiwan	5	7,411	3.3	6	7,691	3.6	4	13,165	5.9
Philippines	2	19,097	8.5	3	15,149	7.1	5	12,923	5.8
Pakistan	14	3,746	1.7	10	3,996	1.9	6	7,724	3.5
Sri Lanka	6	19,097	3	5	8,925	4.2	7	6,117	2.7
United States	7	6,234	2.8	9	5,185	2.4	8	5,789	2.6
Iran	20	2,694	1.2	15	3,683	1.7	9	5,770	2.6
United Kingdom	9	5,971	2.7	8	6,160	2.9	10	5,559	2.5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	10	4,905	2.2	7	6,270	3	11	5,098	2.3
Vietnam	8	6,230	2.8	11	3,953	1.9	19	2,476	1.1
Total - leading countries	-	130,399	58.3	-	114,627	53.9	-	125,563	56
Total - other countries	-	93,476	41.7	-	97,864	46.1	-	98,487	44
Total		223,875		212,491		224,050			

2.3 Provincial distribution of immigrants

Three provinces in particular continue to attract the bulk of immigrants to Canada: Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec. Alberta draws many immigrants as well, albeit on a lesser scale, and it would come as no surprise to see an increase in this province's share of immigrants, since it is a known fact that newcomers are

particularly attracted to regions where their community is already well established, where they can be reunited with family and friends and where they can practise the customs they left behind in their homeland. One can also assume that it is easier to find work in major urban centres, such as Edmonton and Calgary. Figure 2 shows each province's share of immigrants for 1996.

Figure 2 Regional distribution of immigrants (%), 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Ontario is the prime destination for immigrants arriving in Canada. In 1996, 53% of immigrants settled in that province -- almost identical to the percentage noted between 1989 and 1993 (53.2%). British Columbia's share of immigrants increase from 14.7% in 1994 to 23.01% in 1996; this moved it ahead of Quebec, which is now in third place with 13.2%, down from 19.2% in 1994. Alberta's share of immigrants declined in 1996 to 6%, down from 7.7% in 1994. These four provinces remain the main destinations of new immigrants, accounting for some 95% of all immigrants to Canada in recent years.

From an overall standpoint, the 1996 Census revealed that:

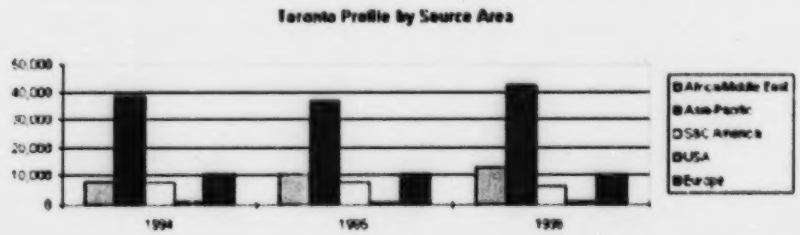
- Immigrants made up a quarter of Ontario's population, or 2.7 million people. The total immigrant population grew by 15% between 1991 and 1996, and this province had the largest proportion of immigrants in all of Canada
- In British Columbia, 24% of the population was made up of people born outside Canada. B.C. was the province with the highest increase in immigrants (up 25% from 1991)
- In Quebec, immigrants accounted for 9.4% of the population in 1996

2.4 Urban distribution of immigrants

Toronto

As is the case with the population as a whole, immigrants to Canada prefer to settle in major urban centres. Toronto is home to Canada's largest immigrant population. In fact, 1.8 million immigrants lived in this city in 1996, up 21% from 1991. Furthermore, 42% of all new immigrants choose to

Figure 3 Profile of Toronto by source area, 1994-96

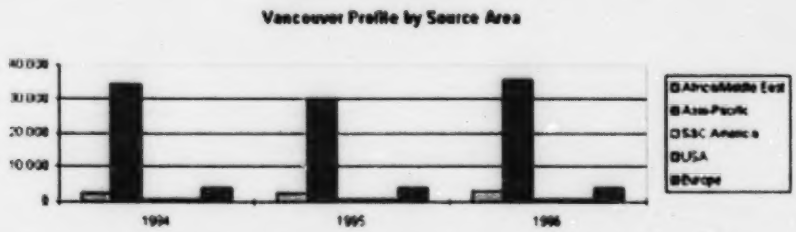


settle in Toronto. Prior to 1961, Toronto's immigrant population was almost exclusively European (92%), the primary sources being the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany. In 1996, Europe was the source of only 17% of new immigrants, most coming from Poland. The majority of Toronto's immigrants came from Asia and the Middle East in 1996. Figure 3 offers a profile of Toronto's recent immigrants by source region.

Vancouver

In Vancouver, immigrants accounted for more than a third of the population in 1996 and numbered 635,000, of whom arrived between 1991 and 1996. In fact, according to the 1996 census, 18% of new immigrants to Canada settled in Vancouver, the highest immigrant growth rate of all the census metropolitan areas. Four of every five newcomers who settled in the Vancouver area came from Asia or the Middle East, the main sources being Hong Kong, China and Taiwan. Prior to 1961, arrivals from these regions accounted for less than 10% of the immigrant population, while those from Europe accounted for 85%; by 1996, the proportion of Europeans among new immigrants had fallen to 10%. Figure 4 offers a profile of Vancouver by source region.

Figure 4 Profile of Vancouver by source area, 1994-96

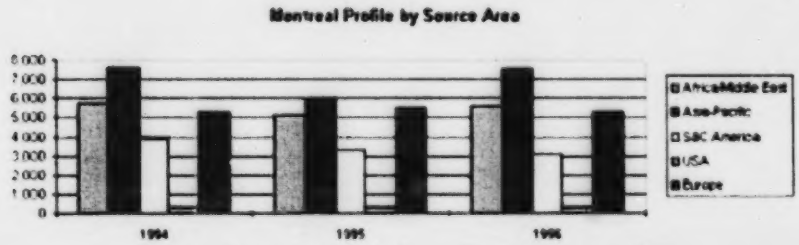


Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996

Montreal

In 1996, Montreal's immigrant population (18% of the city's total population) constituted the third largest in Canada, behind Toronto and Vancouver, and was 13% higher than in 1991. Montreal is a favourite destination of immigrants from Francophone countries such as Haiti, Lebanon and France; in fact, these three countries are the city's leading sources of immigrants. However, as with Toronto and Vancouver, Asia and the Middle East -- in particular, China and Sri Lanka, and Lebanon -- have become significant sources as well, accounting for four of every ten new immigrants. As for Europeans, in 1996 they accounted for 19% of immigrants, down from 90% pre-1961. Figure 5 offers a profile of Montreal by source region.

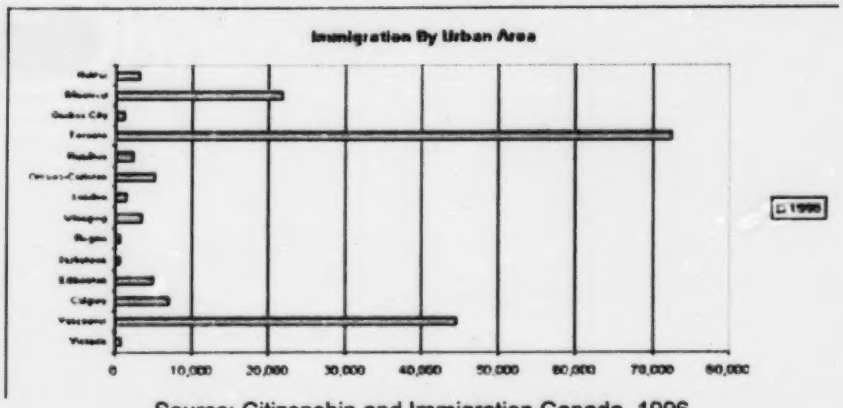
Figure 5 Profile of Montreal by source area, 1994-96



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996

Figure 6 and Table 4 show the number of immigrants arriving in Canada's major urban centres. While Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal have the highest proportion by far (over 60%), a

Figure 6 Immigrants by urban area, 1996



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996

considerable number of immigrants are settling in Calgary and Edmonton. Having drawn 3.1% and 2.2%, respectively, in 1996, Calgary and Edmonton could very well see their proportion of immigrants rise at the next census given the significant economic growth being experienced by these cities in recent years.

Table 4 Immigrants by city of intended destination and country of last permanent residence, 1996

City	Country of Last Permanent Residence												
	Hong Kong	India	China	Taiwan	Philippines	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	USA	Iran	Great Britain	Other	Total	%
Toronto	10,677	5,195	7,122	2,147	4,022	4,493	3,862	1,165	2,287	1,348	29,788	72,096	41.2
Vancouver	12,163	4,173	3,981	9,180	2,796	296	139	796	1,398	994	9,342	45,257	25.9
Montreal	1,025	1,395	809	617	763	501	753	384	516	134	16,847	23,844	13.6
Calgary	964	815	557	358	566	255	22	256	145	300	2,749	6,987	4
Ottawa-Hul	157	290	494	39	116	93	46	117	229	166	3,570	5,317	3
Edmonton	771	645	479	71	454	184	34	127	63	169	1,926	4,903	2.9
Winnipeg	133	310	321	15	800	53	17	93	33	109	1,467	3,351	1.9
Halifax	240	58	141	42	18	157	5	50	43	33	1,987	2,774	1.6
Hamilton	71	256	134	20	162	73	2	69	47	89	1,412	2,396	1.4
Windsor	76	121	128	10	44	65	7	108	47	52	1,179	2,001	1.1
London	42	39	137	11	41	29	8	58	28	61	1,190	1,644	0.9
Kitchener	28	111	60	2	12	23	3	70	44	47	1,132	1,542	0.8
Quebec	1	17	55	5	4	1	1	20	13	1	1,204	1,322	0.8
Victoria	92	97	111	68	64	2	2	74	15	80	266	871	0.5
Regina	55	33	85	4	49	5		12	16	10	360	629	0.4
TOTAL	26,495	13,545	14,754	12,589	9,938	6,210	4,981	3,398	4,924	3,683	74,419	174,932	100

More than any other place in Canada, large urban centres and their suburbs remain the destinations of choice of new immigrants. These cities also constitute the largest pools of consumers in the country. Consequently, any studies, policies, programs or strategies on ethnic food must by necessity target them on a priority basis.

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3 Ethnic Origins of Canadians

3.1 Definition of ethnic origin according to 1996 Census

The data on ethnic origin are taken from the census carried out by Statistics Canada. Ethnic origin, as defined in the 1996 Census, refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which an individual's ancestors belonged. An ancestor is someone from whom a person is descended, and is usually more distant than a grandparent. Ethnic origin pertains to the ancestral "roots" or background of the population and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality. Since 1981, when respondents were first permitted to report more than one ethnic origin in the census, a distinction has been made between single and multiple responses (Statistics Canada, 1996).

A single response occurs when a respondent provides one ethnic origin only. A multiple response occurs when a respondent provides two or more ethnic origins. Total responses are the sum of single and multiple responses. Total response counts indicate the number of persons who reported a specified ethnic origin, either as their only origin or in addition to one or more other ethnic groups.

While it is tempting -- and understandably so -- to compare the ethnic origin data of 1991 to that of 1996, Statistics Canada expresses caution in making this comparison, because "the historical comparability of ethnic origin data has been affected by several factors including changes in data collection and processing, respondents' understanding or views about ethnicity, awareness of family background, and the length of time since immigration".

3.2 Canada's ethnic components

Table 5 shows the 25 main ethnic origins in Canada. It is difficult to compare these figures with those compiled in 1991. That said, we can still get a sense of the changes that have taken place in the demographic composition of the country. In numeric terms, rankings vary according to whether single or total responses are

being considered. In any event, the ethnic groups with the

Table 5 The 25 main ethnic origins in Canada

	Single responses	Multiple responses	Total responses
Canadian	5 326 995	3 479 285	8 806 275
English	2 048 275	4 783 820	6 832 095
French	2 665 250	2 932 595	5 597 845
Scottish	642 970	3 617 870	4 260 840
Irish	504 030	3 263 580	3 767 610
German	726 145	2 030 990	2 757 140
Italian	729 455	478 025	1 207 475
Aboriginal origins	477 630	624 330	1 101 955
Ukrainian	331 680	964 790	1 026 475
Chinese	800 470	121 115	921 585
Dutch (Netherlands)	313 880	602 335	916 215
Polish	265 930	520 805	786 735
South Asian origins	590 145	133 200	723 345
Jewish	195 801	155 900	351 705
Norwegian	47 805	298 500	346 310
Welsh	27 915	310 990	338 905
Portugese	252 640	82 470	335 110
Swedish	31 200	247 775	278 975
Russian	46 885	225 450	272 335
Hungarian	94 185	156 340	250 525
Filipino	198 420	44 460	242 880
American	22 085	189 705	211 790
Spanish	72 470	131 895	204 360
Greek	144 940	58 405	203 345
Jamaican	128 570	60 200	188 770
Total population	**18 303 625**	**10 224 495**	**28 528 125**

largest numbers (after Canadians) remain those of European origins: English, French, Scottish, Irish, German and Italian. However, when only single responses are counted, the order changes and in fourth place, after Canadian, French and English origins, come the Chinese.

3.3 Limitations of data on ethnic origin

Although the data on ethnic origin contain certain limitations that must be taken into account when interpreting these data, they still remain one of the best indicators of the composition of the Canadian population and one of the best tools for setting policy, creating programs, conducting market studies, etc.

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4 Profile of Certain Ethnic Groups

As indicated earlier, the Canadian population is made up of many different ethnic groups. For the purposes of this study, however, greatest attention is being placed on those ethnic groups who have recorded significant increases in their numbers and/ or influence on Canadian cuisine in recent years. It is important for producers, processors and distributors of Canadian food products to be fully aware of these groups and of their potential impact on the domestic food industry. Although knowledge of ethnic food is greater today than it was five or ten years ago, it is clear nonetheless that much remains to be done in this area.

Table 6 Population by ethnic origin in the four largest provinces and Canada: single and multiple origins, 1996

Origin	Canada	Ontario	Quebec	Ish Colum	Alberta
Caribbean	442,805	299,725	107,570	14,510	16,610
Chinese	921,505	422,775	55,875	312,335	9,813
South Asian	723,345	427,470	50,645	165,010	56,190
Middle Eastern	442,805	196,180	164,525	33,125	27,835
Central and South American	187,330	82,405	56,335	22,855	17,455
Other	25 810,255	9,214,235	6,610,130	3,141,920	2,451,297
Total population	28 528,125	10,642,790	7,045,080	3,889,755	2,899,195

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

To examine ethnic food demand, we have begun by painting a demographic picture of Canada so as to highlight the importance of ethnic groups capable of influencing the domestic food market. We have seen that, in recent years, greater numbers of immigrants to Canada now come from non-traditional countries -- Europe is no longer the main source of immigrants to Canada.

4.1 Chinese

The term "Chinese" applies to populations well beyond the borders of mainland China and can also include Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. During the 1996 Census, a total of

921,585 persons (single and multiple origins) reported their ethnic origin as Chinese, accounting for 3.2% of Canada's total population. This represents a considerable increase -- some 71%, in fact -- over the figure recorded in 1991.

4.1.1 History and food traditions (Marritt & Sundue, 1994)

Chinese food traditions are characterized by regional variations, namely Peking, Cantonese and Szechuan. Peking-style cooking, common in the northern and northeastern regions of China, favours steaming and poaching; wheat flour dishes are popular and rice is reserved for special occasions. Most Cantonese-style foods are stir-fried or steamed and, because of the proximity to the sea in the south, also features fish and seafood (e.g., dim sum, shark's fin soup). Szechuan-style foods are spicy and oily, with lots of hot pepper and pepper sauces.

The following list contains some general observations about the food traditions of the Chinese populations in China documented by Barer-Stein (1991). However, the reader should recognize that actual food consumption may vary as Chinese consumers adapt to North American conditions.

- The traditional Chinese diet is based mainly on rice, noodles, and fresh vegetables and fruits. Soybeans are also a dietary staple. Because of their cost in China, meats and fish are generally reserved for special occasions.

- While rice is the staple grain for most of the Chinese population, wheat flour is also often used. The climate of South China favours rice production while, in the north, wheat is predominant. Long-grain rice is generally favoured and is used alone and as a base for many dishes. Wheat flour is made into noodles and steamed pastries.

- Soybeans are an important source of food. Dried beans or bean sprouts are used as part of a meal. Sauces such as soy sauce and bean curd sauce are made from fermented soybeans. Soybean milk is very popular and used as a substitute for cow's milk.

- Milk has not traditionally been a significant part of the Chinese diet but, more recently, dairy products such as cheese and ice cream have become more popular.

- Pork, poultry, lamb and mutton are preferred meats. Beef is seldom eaten, veal almost never. Pickled and barbecued meats are popular. Meats are usually cut into small strips to facilitate cooking in stir-fry type dishes and eating with chopsticks. Larger cuts of meat or poultry are usually purchased pre-cooked at commercial establishments.

- Fish is gaining popularity in China. Freshness is essential and live fish and seafood are preferred (unless product is preserved).
- Peanut and corn oils are preferred and lard is sometimes used, but butter is almost never used.
- Seasonings are limited, but used to differentiate dishes. Sauces are frequently used also to differentiate dishes and include such variations as soy sauce, shrimp paste, plum sauce, oyster sauce, hoisin (barbecue) sauce and bean paste.
- Tea is the most popular beverage, usually prepared using powdered tea leaves dissolved in hot water.
- The evening or family meal is the main meal; it is characterized by a variety of textures, flavours, types of foods and cooking techniques.
- For occasions when many people are to be served, it is common to use the foods and services of commercial establishments instead of preparing the meal at home.

4.1.2 Settlement patterns of Chinese in Canada

As with the other ethnic groups, the Chinese community is concentrated primarily in Ontario (45.9%) and British Columbia (33.9%) as shown in Table 7. Chinese communities are also

Table 7: Provincial distribution of Chinese in Canada

Province	Single origin	Multiple origin	Total	%
Ontario	365,420	57,355	422,775	45 9
British Columbia	280,585	31,750	312,335	33 9
Quebec	47,095	8,780	55,875	66 1
Alberta	8,328	1,485	9,813	1
Other	99,042	21,745	120,787	13 1
Total	800,470	121,115	921,585	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

clustered in Quebec and Alberta, but the proportions drop off sharply at 6.1% and 1.1%, respectively (single and multiple origins).

4.1.3 Urban distribution of Chinese

In keeping with the overall trend among immigrants, most Chinese chose to settle in Canada's major urban centres. As shown in Table 8, cities with the highest proportions of Chinese

include namely Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal , Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa-Hull. Six cities account for 88% of Canada's Chinese, with Toronto and Vancouver alone accounting for 70.3%.

4.1.4 Age profile of Chinese

A comparison of the 1996 and 1991 census data reveals a slight change in the age profile of the Chinese population in Canada relative to the population as a whole. While in 1991 there was a higher proportion of Chinese in the 0-14 age category, by 1996, the share was the same as for the Canadian population in general. However, as observed in 1991, there remains a higher proportion

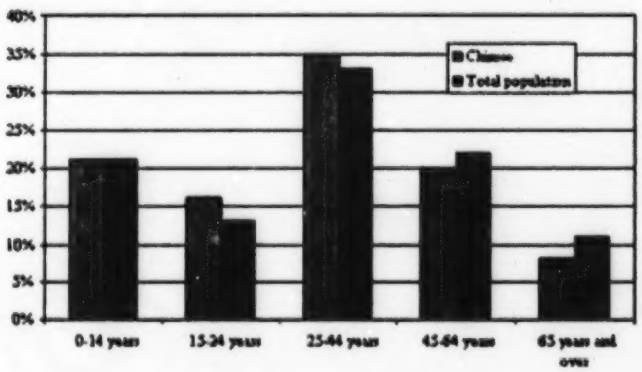
Table 8: Urban distribution of Chinese

City	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Toronto	317,205	42,245	359,450	39
Vancouver	264,202	24,575	288,795	31 3
Montreal	43,865	7,265	51,130	5 5
Calgary	41,270	7,635	48,905	5 3
Edmonton	36,790	5,360	42,150	4 6
Ottawa-Hull	17,950	3,940	21,890	2 4
Other	79,170	30,095	109,265	11 9
Total	800,470	121,115	921,585	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

of Chinese in the 15-24 and 25-44 age categories and a lower proportion in the 45-64 and 65 and over age categories. This means that in comparison with the Canadian population as a whole, Chinese-Canadians are generally younger (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Age profile of Chinese origins in Canada, 1996

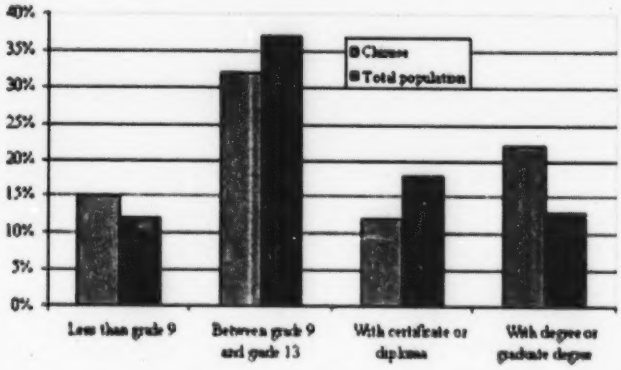


Source: Statistics Canada, 1996

4.1.5 Education profile of Chinese

Figure 8 shows the education profile of Chinese in relation to the rest of the population. While the

Figure 8 Education profile of Chinese origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996

proportions have changed when compared to the population as a whole, there are still:

- more Chinese with grade nine education or less;
- fewer Chinese with grade nine to grade 13 education and with a diploma or certificate;
- more Chinese with a degree or graduate degree.

4.2 South Asian

This group comprises people from four main countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Ontario alone has nearly 60% of Canada's South Asian immigrants, while British Columbia has almost 23%. Together, these two provinces account for over 80% of the total population of this ethnic group (Table 9).

Table 9: Provincial distribution of South Asians

Province	Single origin	Multiple origin	Total	%
Ontario	342,375	85,095	427,470	59 1
British Columbi	141,750	23,260	165,010	22 8
Quebec	41,465	9,180	50,645	7
Alberta	46,510	9,680	56,190	7 8
Other	18,025	6,005	24,030	3 3
Total	590,145	133,200	723,345	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

In 1996, South Asia was the second leading source of new immigrants to Canada. In total, 723,345 people reported a South Asian origin, over 2.5% of the Canadian population, up 67% from the 1991 Census. Nearly half of South Asian immigrants settle in Toronto, as shown in Table 10 (49.7%). Vancouver and Montreal account for 17.3% and 15.0%, respectively.

4.2.1 History and food traditions

(Marritt & Sundue, 1994)

South Asians comprise members from various religious backgrounds. The most significant religions on the Indian subcontinent are Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism and the Muslim faith. Each religion has its own set of values, beliefs and special occasions. In addition there are also many variations related to language and social class (Barer-Stein, 1991). This diversity can make it difficult to develop an overall picture of South Asian food traditions.

South Asian food is differentiated by the use of seasonings and the methods of preparation. Variables which affect food consumption include religious affiliation, economic status, local traditions and availability. The following are several general observations on food consumption in South Asian countries.

- For some South Asians, traditional diets depend largely on cereals (rice, wheat, corn, millet and barley), legumes and some fruits and vegetables.
- Milk is a staple for most South Asians, especially vegetarians. Dairy products such as yogurt and buttermilk are also extensively used.
- Fruits and vegetables are rarely eaten fresh (mostly when in season). Most are processed and turned into pickles, condiments and chutney.
- The consumption of meat is affected by religious traditions. For example, Hindus do not eat flesh and Muslims are forbidden to eat pork. In general, goat, lamb, buffalo and chicken are popular meats and are frequently barbecued or curried.
- Some South Asians depend on legumes (or Dal, a sauce made from legumes) as their main source of protein; the variety and cooking techniques often depend on ethnic group.
- Rice is the staple grain in the southern and eastern regions, while wheat is predominant in the north and west.
- Vegetable oils are commonly used, but clarified butter (ghee) is preferred by wealthy consumers.
- Deserts tend to be very sweet and to use milk or rice as a

base. Many sweet desserts are purchased from commercial establishments. There is also a taste for spiced, salted and sour snacks.

- Seasonings are the key to South Asian food. The aroma (vasana) is an important aspect of food.

South Asian food traditions are also characterized by regional variations. In East India, parboiled rice is a staple and fish is important, but curries (complete dishes also known as masala) tend to be thinner and sweeter than the spicier curries from South India. North Indian cooking exhibits Greek, Persian and Muslim influences. In Pakistan, where 80% of the population is Muslim, consumers prefer spicy dishes and beef, lamb, chicken, rice, wheat and chick peas.

Table 10: Urban distribution of South Asians

City	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Toronto	291,520	67,955	359,475	49.7
Vancouver	107,665	17,790	125,355	17.3
Montreal	95,725	12,690	108,415	15
Calgary	23,050	4,425	27,475	3.8
Edmonton	20,930	4,065	24,995	3.5
Ottawa-Hull	14,675	4,235	18,910	2.6
Other	36,680	22,040	58,720	8.1
Total	590,145	133,200	723,345	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

4.2.2 The importance of religious affiliation (Marritt & Sundue, 1994)

It is important to examine the religious affiliation of South Asians in Canada for three main reasons: 1) religious requirements can affect food consumption; 2) religious affiliations of the South Asian population in Canada are distributed differently when compared to the home region; and 3) given the over-reporting of "East Indian" origin in the census, religious affiliation may paint a more accurate picture of the South Asian community in Canada.

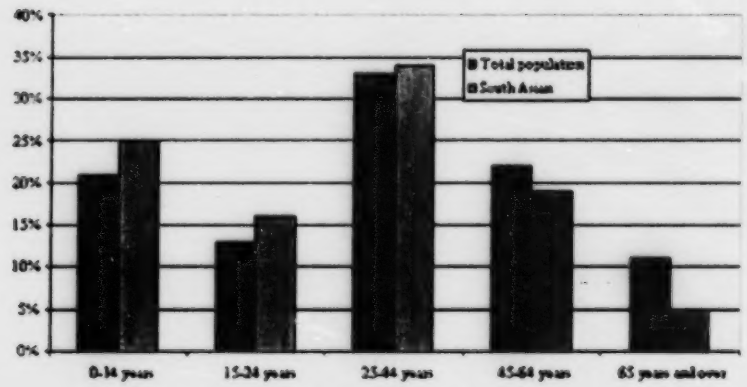
Most South Asian-Canadians belong to one of three religious groups — Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. Sikhs comprise the largest religious group among South Asian-Canadians at 134,790, or 32.1% of immigrants reporting single origins. Furthermore, South Asians account for virtually all (91.4%) Sikhs in Canada. Canada's Sikh population is younger than the national average (28.7 years versus 34.5 years) and has grown dramatically between 1986 and 1991 (117.7%).

Hindus account for about 80% of the Indian population and are one of two dominant groups in Sri Lanka , the other being the Tamils. However, Hindus account for only 28.7% of South Asians in Canada. Hindus generally refrain from eating flesh and

foods that may have the seed of life (eggs); some animals and plants are considered sacred as incarnations of gods (e.g., cows represent Mother Earth).

Muslims are the third largest group at 90,890 (or 21.6% of South Asians in Canada). In general, they do not eat pork or any flesh that has not been ritually slaughtered, nor do they commonly use alcohol.

Figure 9: Age profile of South Asian origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

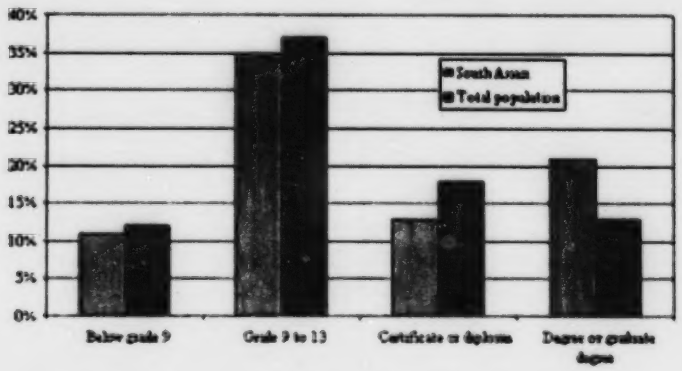
Buddhists account for a small proportion (0.7%) of South Asians in Canada, despite a higher representation in India and Sri Lanka (Buddhist Sinhalese). Buddhists are required to avoid eating meat out of a general respect for all life.

Sikh, Muslim and Hindu religious festivals are based on a lunar calendar and often include an aspect of feasting or fasting. Hindu festivals include Divali, Dussara, Holi, Shivarati and others. Muslims celebrate the month of Ramadan by abstaining from food and drink between sun-up and sun-down. Sikhs celebrate the first day of the month of Baisakh (April-May) and observe many Hindu festivals as well (Barer-Stein, 1991). In is important to note that, as with all religious faiths, adherence to food requirements can vary from person to person.

4.2.3 Age and education profile of South Asian origins

A comparison of the age distribution of South Asian origin to the overall Canadian population reveals that it is younger. As was the case in 1991, there is a higher proportion of South Asians in the under 15 years, 15-24 years and 25-44 years categories and lower proportions in the 45-64 years and 65 years and over categories than in the overall population (Figure 9).

Figure 10: Education profile of South Asian origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

According to the 1996 Census, a higher proportion of South Asians were in the degree and graduate degree categories than the general population, and a lower proportion were in the grade 9 to certificate or diploma categories.

4.3 Middle Eastern origins

According to data gathered by Statistics Canada during the 1996 Census, the label "Middle Eastern origins" refers to three groups: persons of Arab origin from such countries as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon; persons of West Asian origin from Afghanistan, Armenia, Iran, Israel, Kurdistan and Turkey; and persons of Maghrebian origin from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, as well as Berbers. In Canada, persons of Arab origin accounted for 61.9% of the Middle Eastern population, followed by the West Asians and Maghrebians with 31.8% and 6.3% , respectively.

Ontario continues to attract the largest number of Middle Eastern immigrants, Quebec now ranks second for the majority of Arab and Maghrebian origins (Table11), and the bulk of West Asians settle in Ontario.

Table 11: Provincial distribution of Middle Eastern origins

Province	Origins	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total
Ontario	Arab	81,680	34,675	116,555
	Maghrebian	1,420 =141,495	1,965 = 54,488	3,385 =196,190
	West Asian	58,395	17,840	76,240
British Columbia	Arab	5,545	6,230	11,775
	Maghrebian	310 = 22,110	380 = 11,010	690 = 33,125
	West Asian	16,255	4,400	20,860
Quebec	Arab	77,655	28,920	106,575
	Maghrebian	15,486 =119,755	7,505 = 44,765	22,970 =164,520
	West Asian	26,635	8,340	34,975
Alberta	Arab	15,515	6,370	21,885
	Maghrebian	235 = 19,195	210 = 8,640	445 = 27,835
	West Asian	3,445	2,060	5,505
Other	Arab	8,835	9,575	17,415
	Maghrebian	110 = 10,285	165 = 11,070	275 = 21,355
	West Asian	2,140	1,330	3,455
Total	Arab	188,430	85,770	274,205
	Maghrebian	17,540 = 312,840	10,225 = 129,965	27,765 = 443,015
	West Asian	106,870	33,970	140,835

Source: Statistics Canada, special tabulation

Most Middle Eastern countries follow Muslim or Christian faiths which shape much of the culture in this region. The Muslim religion also has a number of beliefs that relate to food consumption — these include specific fasting periods (e.g., Ramadan), avoidance of products forbidden by the Koran (e.g., alcohol, pork), and specific slaughtering procedures similar to those required by Jewish law (Sabini, 1990). Halal is an Arabic word meaning "lawful" and refers to food prepared or slaughtered according to Islamic laws and, in this regard, is similar to Jewish Kosher procedures (Gillies, 1990). In fact, it is believed that the majority of Kosher foods in Canada are sold to Muslim consumers (Allentuck, 1990). The religious affiliations of Middle Eastern populations in Canada are consistent with their home region — nearly 43% reported Muslim religious affiliations and another 49% reported Christian faiths (Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Protestant).

4.3.1 History and food traditions (Marritt & Sundue, 1994)

Considering the large number of countries and groups included in the aggregation "Middle Eastern", there is a remarkable consistency in food consumption habits. While there are regional variations in food traditions, they tend to relate more to issues of availability as opposed to issues of cultural differences (Packard and McWilliams, 1993). The following are some general observations about food traditions in the Middle East.

- Indigenous products such as wheat, legumes, fruits, vegetables and olives are extensively used.

- Pita bread, cut or torn into pieces, is used as a scoop for dips or as a pouch to be filled with meat, legumes and vegetables.
- Lamb and mutton are the most commonly used meats. Chicken has become very popular in recent years. Other sources of meat include beef, veal and turkey.
- Fish and other seafood are used mainly in coastal areas.
- Widespread lactose intolerance contributes to the consumption of yogurt and cheese made from sheep or goat's milk.
- A variety of fruits and vegetables are eaten on a seasonal basis.
- Nuts and seeds are widely used as snacks and in main dishes. Popular ones include pistachios, almonds, pine nuts and sesame seeds.
- Fat and oils, particularly olive oil, play an important role in Middle Eastern diets.
- Frequently, food requiring complex preparation is purchased at commercial establishments and brought home.
- Use of animal products and processed snack foods tends to increase as Middle Eastern consumers become more affluent or as they immigrate to "western" countries.
- In less-developed Middle Eastern countries, citizens often equate "western" foods with higher status (e.g., baby formulas and processed foods).

4.3.2 Settlement patterns of Middle Eastern origins

The majority of people of Middle Eastern origin have settled in Montreal because this city is French-speaking and so are most of the Middle Eastern countries (Table 12).

Table 12 Urban distribution of Middle Eastern origins

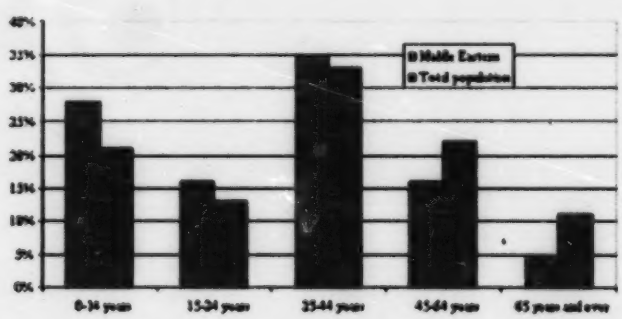
City	Origins	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total
Toronto	Arab	39,600	17,360	56,960
	Maghrebian	860 = 86,080	1,545 = 30,830	2,405 = 116,825
	West Asian	45,540	11,935	57,470
Vancouver	Arab	4,660	3,760	8,420
	Maghrebian	265 = 19,785	250 = 7,340	535 = 27,125
	West Asian	14,840	3,330	18,170
Montreal	Arab	71,060	25,175	96,240
	Maghrebian	13,690 = 110,300	6,475 = 39,210	20,160 = 149,510
	West Asian	25,550	7,560	33,110
Calgary	Arab	6,515	2,705	9,225
	Maghrebian	115 = 8,555	65 = 3,680	185 = 12,230
	West Asian	1,925	890	2,820
Edmonton	Arab	7,235	2,515	9,750
	Maghrebian	50 = 8,560	120 = 3,490	170 = 12,050
	West Asian	1,275	855	2,130
Ottawa-Hull	Arab	21,610	6,380	27,995
	Maghrebian	580 = 27,020	410 = 8,275	990 = 35,295
	West Asian	4,830	1,485	6,310
All other cities		56,618	33,830	93,950
Total	Arab	188,430	85,770	274,205
	Maghrebian	17,540 = 316,830	10,225 = 126,635	27,765 = 446,985
	West Asian	106,870	39,970	140,835

Source Statistics Canada, special tabulation

4.3.3 Age profile of Middle Eastern origins

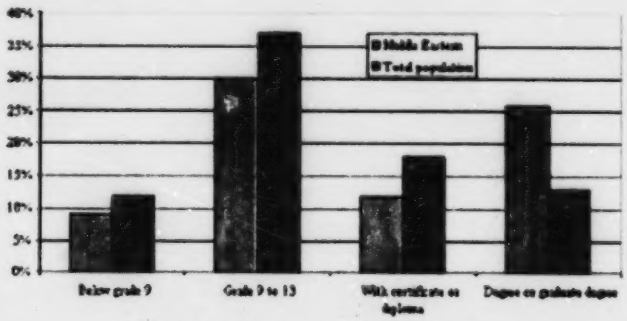
We have considered persons of Arab, Maghrebian and West Asian origins to determine the total number of Middle Eastern immigrants. Figure 11 shows that overall, Middle Eastern immigrants are generally younger than the Canadian population as a whole. They have a higher proportion in the 0-14 years, 15-24 years and 25-44 years age groups and a lower proportion in the 45-64 years and 65 and over age groups. The same distribution was observed in 1991.

Figure 11 Age profile of immigrants of Middle Eastern origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Figure 12 shows that compared to the population as a whole, people of Middle Eastern origin tend to have more university level qualifications.



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

4.4 Central and South American origins

Although proportionally a smaller source than the groups discussed earlier, the countries of Central and South America represent another source of Canadian immigrants.

For example, the United States Census Bureau has forecast that in 2005, persons of South American origin will outnumber Blacks in the United States, a country which already ranks fifth in the world in terms of Spanish-speaking population. In view of Canada's proximity to the United States, such a phenomenon will definitely influence our food market.

Since Central and South America comprise many different countries, one must refrain from overgeneralizing about these regions. However, despite differences in eating and cultural habits, there are enough similarities to warrant grouping together all the people from this region for the purposes of this report.

Almost 75 % of immigrants from Central and South American have settled in Ontario and Quebec.

Table 13 Provincial distribution of Central and South American origins

Province	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Ontario	51,980	30,425	82,405	44
British Columbia	11,050	11,806	22,856	12.2
Quebec	40,870	15,460	56,336	30.1
Alberta	10,340	7,115	17,455	9 3
Other	4,395	3,890	8,285	4 4
Total	118,635	68,695	187,330	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Toronto tops the list with slightly over 30% of this population, followed by Montreal with 26.4%. As is the case with people of Middle Eastern origin, Vancouver ranks third with 8.4% (Table 14).

Table 14 Provincial distribution of Central and South American origins

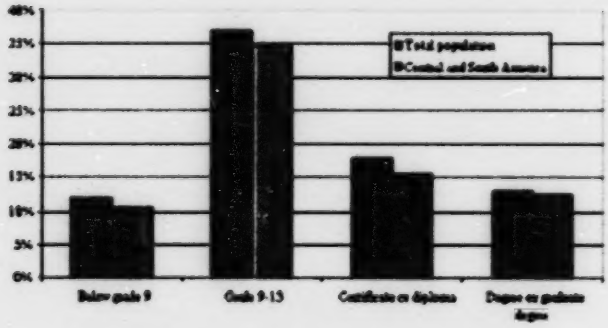
City	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Toronto	36,700	19,655	56,355	30.1
Vancouver	8,480	7,295	15,775	8.4
Montreal	36,705	12,790	49,495	26.4
Calgary	3,895	3,180	7,075	3.8
Edmonton	4,590	2,425	7,015	3.7
Ottawa-Hull	4,255	2,805	7,060	3.8
Other	24,010	20,545	44,555	23.8
Total	118,635	68,695	187,330	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

4.4.1 Education profile of Central and South American origins

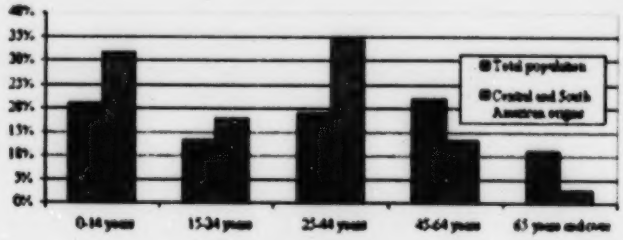
The education profile of immigrants from Central and South America differs from that of the rest of the Canadian population. While they have nearly the same proportion of university graduates, fewer have less than a grade 9 education, between grade 9 and grade 13 and a certificate or diploma.

Figure 14 Education profile of immigrants of Central and South American origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Figure 15 Age profile of immigrants of Central and South American origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Generally speaking, this group has a higher proportion of people in the 0-14 years, 15-24 years and 25-44 years age groups than the Canadian population as a whole (Figure 15). However, its proportion is lower in the 45 and over age group.

4.5 Caribbean

Persons of Caribbean origin are those from Cuba, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Trinidad-Tobago, Haiti, Grenada, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Guyana and Antigua. This is a very cosmopolitan group of countries with very different cultures and eating habits. Although they have been grouped together for census purposes, we need to make certain differentiations regarding persons of Caribbean origin.

Most Caribbean immigrants choose to settle in Ontario (over 66%), followed by Quebec with 23.7%. This means that just under 90% of this group can be found in these two provinces (Table 15).

Table 15 Provincial distribution of Caribbean origins

Province	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Ontario	198,070	101,655	299,725	66.1
British Columbia	5,175	9,335	14,510	3.2
Quebec	86,290	21,280	107,570	23.8
Alberta	9,060	7,556	16,805	3.7
Other	6,705	7,680	14,385	3.2
Total	305,290	147,515	452,805	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

4.5.1 Urban distribution of Caribbean origins

Among Canadian cities, Toronto attracts more than half of these immigrants (53.9%), followed by Montreal with 22.3% (Table 16).

Table 16 Urban distribution of Caribbean origins

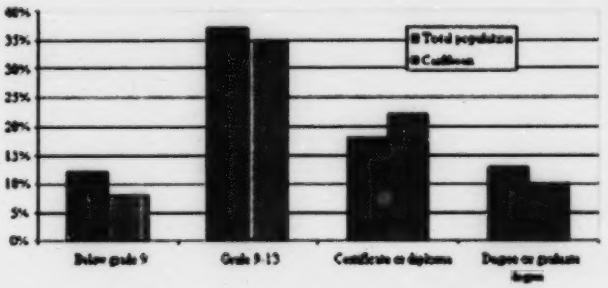
City	Single origin	Multiple origins	Total	%
Toronto	167,295	76,555	243,850	53 9
Vancouver	3,995	6,095	10,090	2 2
Montreal	82,285	18,735	101,020	22 3
Calgary	4,245	3,445	7,690	1 7
Edmonton	4,190	2,970	7,160	1 6
Ottawa-Hull	11,120	5,775	16,895	3 7
Other	32,260	33,940	66,200	14 6

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

4.5.2 Education profile of immigrants of Caribbean origins

A higher proportion of immigrants from the Caribbean have a certificate or diploma than the population as a whole; for all other levels of education, however, they have a lower proportion (Figure 16).

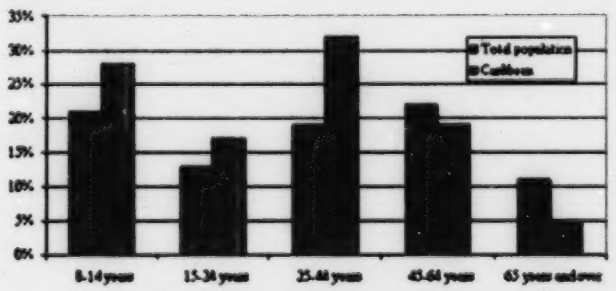
Figure 16 Education profile of immigrants of Caribbean origins in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Caribbean immigrants are younger than the population as a whole (Figure 17). A higher proportion of these immigrants belong to age groups below 45 years of age. From the age of 45 years and up, their proportion is lower than that of the population as a whole.

Figure 17 Age profile of immigrants of Caribbean origin in Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

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Influence of Immigration on The Ethnic Food Market in Canada

5 Ethnic Food Expenditure Patterns

5.1 Ethnic food expenditure survey -- sample characteristics

The data set for this chapter makes use of a question from the Family Food Expenditure Surveys of 1986, 1992 and 1996. The surveyed households were asked to reply to a question about the place of birth of the household head. These answers were aggregated into the following geographic origins: Canada and USA (over 85% all three surveys), Europe (10% in 1986, 8% for 1992 and 1996), Asia (rising from 2.4% to 3.8%), Middle East, Western Asia and Africa (rising to 1.3% in 1996), South and Central America, Caribbean and Bermuda (rising to about 1.3% in 1996) as illustrated in Table 17.

Table 17 Place of birth (percent)

Country of origin	1986	1992	1996
Canada & United States	85.9	86.8	85.5
Europe	10.1	8.2	8
Asia	2.4	2.5	3.8
Middle East, Western Asia, and Africa	0.6	1	1.3
South & Central America, Caribbean and Bermuda	0.9	1.5	1.3
Not stated	0.1	0	0.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

The total sample size for each of the three surveys was over 10,000 households. Except for the long-established households of Canadian and American origin, the sample sizes for the sub-groups were small. There were sub-aggregations within Europe (3) and Asia (3). These surveyed households in the ethnic subsets were each headed by a first generation immigrant (but not necessarily by a recent immigrant).

The households of first-generation immigrants from Europe have been separated into three groups: Northern Europe (including UK, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Benelux, France, and Switzerland), Southern Europe (Italy, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Serbia, Slovenia (these last three only in 1992 and 1996)) and Eastern

Europe (Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (and its successors), Romania, USSR (and its successor states), and Hungary). The sample sizes from Northern Europe are three times the size of either of the other two. Except for Eastern Europe, the sample sizes decline over the surveys, as immigration from Europe declined, a function of rising incomes and prosperity in Europe. The increase in first generation immigrant households from Eastern Europe may be a function of the disintegration of the old USSR.

The Asian data can be split into three sub-groups: China and East Asia, including Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. The second largest group consisted of the first generation immigrants from Southeast Asia, including Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The smallest group was that from the Indian sub-continent, including Sri Lanka.

The survey captured a small set of first generation households from the Middle East, from Turkey and all countries of Africa. In addition, all households with origins in South America, Central America and the Caribbean make up another small group. These very diverse aggregations, spread over vast geographic areas, neither represent homogeneous populations in terms of culture, religions, languages, nor consistent sets of food expenditure characteristics.

Table 18 shows that only the households of Asian immigrants have increased in size over the period, and that only the households of European immigrants have declined in size. The trends that are notable in Table 18 are the large and rising size of the Asian immigrant households, and the relatively small size and declines in the household size of the long time residents and Europeans.

Table 18 Household size, cohorts and four ethnic groups

Year	Canada	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
1986	3	3	3	3.07	3.23
1992	3	3	3	2.86	2.74
1996	3	4	3	3.18	3.05

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Table 19 Household Distribution by age (%)

Age range	Canada & US	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
1986					
Under 5 years	8	7.8	3.7	10.1	8.4
Between 5-15	15.7	19.1	16	20.9	19.8
Between 16-64	67.2	68.2	66.9	67.4	67.2
Over 65	9.2	4.9	13.4	1.6	4.6
1992					
Under 5 years	6.9	7.5	3.1	11.5	13.1
Between 5-15	15.9	16.8	13.4	16.1	16.8
Between 16-64	66.7	70.2	66.7	67.1	68.6
Over 65	10.7	5.5	16.9	5.2	1.8
1996					
Under 5 years	5.9	6.8	4.8	9.8	13.4
Between 5-15	13.8	15.6	10	17.1	16.4
Between 16-64	68.1	71.9	67.2	68.8	65.9
Over 65	11.8	5.7	18	4.3	4.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Household structure and income determine the level of per capita expenditure. Table 19 shows the percentage distribution by age of the five groups, and how the distribution has changed over the three survey years.

As is shown in Table 19, the Asian households had the largest share of members between 15 and 64, the "heavy eaters". In the Asian households, 68 to 71% of the family fitted into this category in all three surveys. The other three groups averaged around 67%. European households had the highest proportion of members over the age of 65, and this has been rising over time. In general, all ethnic groups have been aging.

5.2 Food expenditures

In Table 20, the only obvious trend is increasing per capita expenditures for the established cohorts and immigrant households from the Middle East. The other three groups had highest per capita expenditures in 1992.

Table 20 Average weekly food expenditure per capita (dollars)

Year	Canada & US	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
1986	33.8	36	35.8	30.3	33.6
1992	42.1	39.5	45.6	35.1	38.6
1996	43.4	39	44.7	34.3	40.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Weekly food expenditures calculated on a per capita basis assume all family members are equal in purchasing power and that they eat similar quantities of food. When food expenditures are calculated per capita for 1986, average expenditures per cap were highest ($36) for the households of the Asian immigrants. 1992 expenditures per cap were highest for the households of the European immigrants. By 1996, average expenditures per capita were highest for the smaller households of the established families and the European immigrants.

5.2.1 Food expenditures in stores and restaurants

Weekly food expenditures can be divided into two broad segments: food purchased from stores, and food purchased from restaurants. Food store purchases can be further divided into expenditures at supermarkets, specialty stores, convenience stores and other stores. Restaurant purchases can be divided by time of day. Weekly food expenditures can be examined in terms of absolute values, by per capita calculations, and by percentage shares. Each measure has its benefits and its costs.

Dollars spent per capita on food at home purchases remained stable for European and Asian immigrant households from 1992 to 1996. Per capita restaurant expenditures were very low for South and Central America ($6.44), and close for Europeans ($12.26), for Asians ($12.73) and for established ($13.01), as shown in Table 21.

Table 21 Food purchased from stores and food purchased from restaurants per capita (dollars)

Year	Canada & US		Asia		Europe		South & Central America		Middle East	
	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.
1986	24.5	9.2	25.1	10.9	28.1	7.7	21.6	8.8	25.9	7.7
1992	29.1	13	26.7	12.7	33.4	12.3	29.7	6.4	28.9	9.7
1996	31.2	12.3	26.1	12.9	34.5	10.2	27.1	7.2	31.7	9.2

*Rest. = Restaurant

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Table 22 and Table 23 show how expenditure was allocated between store purchases for food at home and food purchases at restaurants. In 1986, the established families spent 72.6% of weekly expenditure on food purchased from stores, and 27.4% on food purchased in restaurants. By 1996, restaurant shares has declined, due to the recession, ending a trend towards increasing expenditure on food away from home. In 1986, the Asian families spent much less on store purchases, and far more at restaurants than the other groups, a pattern that would continue over the years. The Asian restaurant spending share was 50% greater than that of European immigrant households. These Asian immigrants would be continuing the practice of eating out that is so prevalent in parts of Asia.

Table 22 Food purchased from stores and food purchased from restaurants (%)

Year	Canada & US		Asia		Europe		South & Central America		Middle East	
	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.
1986	72.6	27.4	69.7	30.3	78.5	21.6	71.1	28.9	77	22.9
1992	69.1	30.9	67.7	32.3	73.1	26.9	82.2	17.8	74.9	25.1
1996	71.7	28.3	67	32.9	77.1	22.9	79.1	20.9	77.5	22.5

*Rest. = Restaurant

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Table 23 Food purchased from stores and food purchased from restaurant (dollars)

Year	Canada & US		Asia		Europe		South & Central America		Middle East	
	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.
1986	64.2	24.2	82.7	36	75.6	20.8	66.3	26.9	83.5	24.9
1992	75	33.6	92.5	44.1	87.1	32	84.9	18.4	79.1	26.6
1996	79.1	31.2	92.1	45.3	86.2	25.6	86.3	22.8	96.5	26.1

*Rest. = Restaurant

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

The only trend that stands out in Table 22 (percentage shares of spending at stores and restaurants) is the rising share allocated to restaurants by Asian immigrants. Table 23 shows the same data set, but uses the dollar values of spending at stores and restaurants.

The pattern of store purchases by percentage shares, as shown in Table 24, indicates that supermarket purchasing was most important for all groups in all three survey years. The table also shows that in 1986 immigrants from the Middle East spent a smaller portion of their food expenditure in supermarkets, and a larger share in speciality stores than the other groups, followed by immigrants from Asia. Of all the immigrant groups, immigrants from Europe allocated the largest share of store dollars to supermarkets in all of three survey years. The elements that stand out in Table 24 are the consistent low expenditure shares of the Middle East households in supermarkets, the generally high supermarket shares of European households, the high supermarket shares of South and Central American immigrant households and the consistent high level of expenditures in speciality stores by the Middle East groups.

Table 24 Food purchased from stores by type of store (%)

	1986			
	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience	Other Stores
Canada	79.5	8.4	5.6	6.5
Asia	66.2	18.5	4.1	11.3
Europe	77.6	11.9	3.7	6.8
South & Central America	77.2	9.5	3.6	9.8
Middle East	62.5	31.2	3.2	3.1

	1992			
	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience	Other Stores
Canada	81.5	7.4	4.6	6.6
Asia	70.3	14.8	4.9	10
Europe	77.3	11.5	3.1	7.9
South & Central America	76	11.1	3.6	9.4
Middle East	64.9	17.2	5.8	12.1

	1996			
	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience	Other Stores
Canada	82.4	6.7	3.4	7.8
Asia	72.8	14.2	3.1	9.9
Europe	80.7	10.6	2.1	6.6
South & Central America	76.4	11.8	2.9	8.8
Middle East	66.3	17	3.4	14.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Table 25 Food purchased from restaurants by time of day (%)

1986	Canada	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
Restaurants					
Breakfast	6.7	5	6.2	7.9	.
Lunches	31.7	37.9	34	34.5	40.9
Dinners	50.5	51.3	49.3	49.7	47.6
Between-meals	11.1	5.8	10.5	7.9	.

1992	Canada	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
Restaurants					
Breakfast	8.1	5.3	7.1	2.9	8.3
Lunches	31.3	43.4	30.4	35.7	38.8
Dinners	50.7	45.5	52.5	44.6	42.5
Between-meals	9.9	5.7	9.9	16.9	10.4

1996	Canada	Asia	Europe	South & Central America	Middle East
Restaurants					
Breakfast	8.4	4.9	6.6	10.2	11.6
Lunches	31.3	37.9	32.3	31.3	28
Dinners	50.4	51.8	51.5	51.3	54.2
Between-meals	10	5.4	9.7	7.3	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

Table 25, which illustrates Food Purchases from Restaurants by time of day, indicates that the largest share was spent on dinners by all groups over all three survey years, followed by lunches. Asian lunch expenditure in 1992 was close to dinner expenditures. There are no clear trends for any meal expenditure share for any group. Asian immigrants allocated a larger total share to lunch and to dinner than any other group (about 89%) , the European immigrants a consistent low 83%. The established households and European immigrants were most likely to snack, the Asians least likely.

5.2.2 Percentage distribution of the household food dollar on major food groups

The percentage distribution of the household food dollar abstracts away from family size and family structure by age. In addition, the percentage distribution allows us to discover how family groups allocate their total spending across major categories of expenditure and across food groups.

The immigrant groups that generally allocated the largest share of weekly food expenditure to meat over the three survey periods were the Asian groups, usually followed by the immigrant households from South and Central America and the Caribbean. However, the meat expenditure shares have declined over time. The shares, on average, have declined from 27% to the 22% level.

The next largest food expenditure was allocated to dairy products and eggs. Expenditures by European immigrants have been the highest. This has been consistent over the three survey years. Expenditure shares allocated to bakery and cereal products have

increased overall from 12 to 14% of total expenditures; immigrants from Europe have increased their shares the most.

Shares expended on fruit and nuts is the next largest expenditure category. The geographical and culturally diverse groups from the Middle East and Africa were the largest consumers of both fruits and vegetables, whether fresh or processed.

In 1986, Asian groups allocated a larger share of food expenditure to fish purchases and vegetables than the other groups. Immigrants from Europe allocated a higher proportion to dairy products and eggs, to bakery and cereal products than any other group. Immigrants from the Mid-East allocated more to fruit and vegetables, and less to meat than other groups.

Table 26 Comparative Summary Expenditure Shares, by Major Ethnic 1986, 1992, 1996 (%)

Category of Foods, 1986	Canada & USA	Asia	Europe	LA & Central America	Middle East
Meat	25.4	27.4	25.9	29.1	15.5
Fish	2.9	7.4	3.6	4.7	
Dairy Products & Eggs	18	13.7	18.4	16.5	14.8
Bakery & Cereal Products	13.5	11.9	12.7	11.5	12.2
Fruit & Nuts	10.6	13.1	12.6	12.9	19.2
Vegetables	9	10.4	9.1	9.1	10.4
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.7	2.2	2	2	2.2
Sugar & Sugar preparations	2.6	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.6
Coffee & Tea	2.9	1.7	3.1		
Fats & Oils	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.5	
Other Foods & Food Preparations	6.8	5.4	5.4	5.3	4.1
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4	3.6	3.7	4.2	3.1

Category of Foods, 1992	Canada & USA	Asia	Europe	LA & Central America	Middle East
Meat	23.4	26.1	24.5	26.1	23.2
Fish	2.9	7.6	4.3	4.8	4.8
Dairy Products & Eggs	16.8	12.2	16.3	14.1	15.1
Bakery & Cereal Products	15.2	13.2	14.2	13.2	13.8
Fruit & Nuts	10.6	13.3	12.5	14.1	14.7
Vegetables	9.4	10.2	9.5	10.3	12.7
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	3	2.2	2.4	2.3	1.9
Sugar & Sugar preparations	3	1.9	2.5	1.8	2
Coffee & Tea	1.8	1.4	2	1.5	
Fats & Oils	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.6
Other Foods & Food Preparations	7.8	6.5	6.2	6.4	5.1
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4.8	4	4.3	4	4

Category of Foods, 1996	Canada & USA	Asia	Europe	LA & Central America	Middle East
Meat	21.9	22.6	21.7	22.4	22.6
Fish	2.7	8	3.7	7.5	5.3
Dairy Products & Eggs	16.2	12.1	16.2	14.2	14.8
Bakery & Cereal Products	15.9	13.9	15	15.1	13.5
Fruit & Nuts	10.7	13.4	12.5	13.1	15.2
Vegetables	9.2	11.5	10.4	10.3	11.8
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.9	2.1	2.3	1.7	2.2
Sugar & Sugar preparations	3.3	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.1
Coffee & Tea	2.1	1.2	2.4	1.2	1.5
Fats & Oils	1.4	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.7
Other Foods & Food Preparations	9	7.2	6.9	6.3	5.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

In 1992, Asian groups still allocated a larger share of food expenditure to fish purchases than the other groups. Immigrants from SA-Carib allocated a larger share of food expenditures to meat purchases than any other group. Immigrant households from the MidEast allocated more to fruit and nuts, to vegetables and less to meat than the others.

By 1996, immigrants from Asia allocated a slightly larger share of weekly expenditures to meat than did the immigrants from the Middle East. Middle East expenditure shares were driven up specifically by beef, and Asian expenditures were pushed up by pork. European shares for bakery products were higher than any other group, but the shares allotted to cereal grains were lower. Immigrants from Asia were closely followed by immigrants from South and Central America in the expenditures on fish, and they led in expenditures on pork.

5.3 Food expenditure characteristics of the major ethnic groups

5.3.1 Asian groups

The Asian data can be split into three sub-groups: China and East Asia, including Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. There is some reasonable degree of homogeneity in this group in terms of life style, religious practices, and some consistency in terms of food choices. The second largest group consisted of the first generation immigrants from Southeast Asia, including Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The smallest group was that from the Indian sub-continent, including Sri Lanka.

There is a tendency among all these groups to eat street food and to eat out. We have already noted this tendency in Table 22 and now in Table 27 we see that it is strongly clustered in the groups from China and East Asia. The table indicates that it is growing in strength, rising to nearly 44% in 1996. Families from the Indian sub-continent tended to eat less street food than the others, but the share of food away from home is rising. Expenditure shares spent in restaurants were not a function of income: if anything, the immigrant families from the Indian sub-continent tended to have the highest income before taxes, but did not spend it in restaurants.

Table 27 Food purchased from stores and food purchased from restaurants for all Asia (percentage of weekly household food expenditure)

Year	All Asia		China & East Asia		South East Asia		Indio-Pakistan	
	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.
1986	69 7	30 3	64.1	35 9	77 9	22.1	80 1	20
1992	67 7	32 4	59 5	40 5	67.7	30	77 9	22 1
1996	67	33	56 1	43 9	76 5	23 5	76 3	23 7

* Rest.= Restaurant

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

The families from China and East Asia were spending increasing shares in supermarkets; by 1992 and continuing to 1996, those from southeast Asia spent less of their food dollar in supermarkets than the other groups. Households from Southeast Asia showed a tendency in 1996 to shop in food specialty shops, and households from Indian sub-continent to shop in "other stores", likely big box stores. These preferences are shown below in Table 28.

Table 28 Food purchased from stores by type of store, Asian sub-groups (%)

	1986				1992				1996			
	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores
Asia	66 2	18 5	4 1	11 3	70 3	14 8	4 9	10	72 8	14 2	3 1	9 9
China & East Asia	62 9	21 9	4 8	10 5	70 7	13	3 1	13 2	73 2	16 4	2 7	7 7
Southeast Asia	77 5		3 2	12 4	65 2	21 7	6 8	6 2	71 9	15 3	2 8	9 9
IndianSub-Continent	65 3	19 3			77 5			11 7	73 4	9 5	3 9	13 2

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

An examination of Table 29 below, the percentage distribution of total food at home expenditures, Asian Sub-Groups, indicates that the first generation immigrant households from China and East Asia and South East Asia generally allocated over one-quarter of their store-purchased food to meat. In contrast, the immigrant households from the Indian sub-continent allocated only one-fifth in the first two survey periods, and this had dropped considerably by 1996. Generally, beef expenditures were highest in the meat group, but shares decline for all three over time, and declined by 50% for the Indian continent sub-group. There is not enough data for pork expenditures to comment. Poultry shares remained fairly robust over time.

In general, the next largest store expenditure shares were allocated to fruits of all kinds and bakery and cereal products. The purchase of fruits of all kinds is an expected effect by immigrants from tropical

and semi-tropical climates where there is easy access to year-round fresh fruit. The high shares of cereal and bakery products were pushed up largely due to the consumption of rice in East and South East Asia. The shares of cereal and bakery products were relatively constant around 13%, there were only marginal differences in the groups, and there were no trends, up or down.

The exception to this tendency to stability in expenditure shares is the continuing high consumption of dairy products by immigrants from the Indian sub-continent. By 1996, dairy product expenditure shares exceeded meat expenditure shares. These households also tend not to eat pork for religious reasons. Vegetables, both fresh and processed (with a strong emphasis on fresh) is the other major component of the diets of all three groups, ranging over 10%, and rising over the three survey years. Fish consumption varied widely, from highs of 10% (China and East Asia) to as low as 4% Indian sub-continent).

Table 29 Comparative Summary Shares, Asian Sub-Groups, Major Food Categories, 1986, 1992, 1996 (%)

Category of Foods, 1986	Asia	China& East Asia	Southeast Asia	India Pakistan
Meat	26.1	27.2	29.9	20.7
Fish	7.8	8.9	9.5	
Dairy Products & Eggs	12.2	9.6	11	17.9
Bakery & Cereal Products	13.2	13.1	14.3	12.6
Fruit & Nuts	13.3	13.6	12.5	15
Vegetables	10.2	10.9	9.4	11.1
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.2	2.4	2.1	
Sugar & Sugar preparations	1.9	2.1	2	
Coffee & Tea	1.4			
Fats & Oils	1.2	1.8		
Other Foods & Food Preparations	6.5	6.3	7.5	5.5
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4	2.9	3.8	5.9

Category of Foods, 1992	Asia	China& East Asia	Southeast Asia	India Pakistan
Meat	26.1	27.2	29.9	20.7
Fish	7.8	8.9	9.5	
Dairy Products & Eggs	12.2	9.6	11	17.9
Bakery & Cereal Products	13.2	13.1	14.3	12.6
Fruit & Nuts	13.3	13.6	12.5	15
Vegetables	10.2	10.9	9.4	11.1
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.2	2.4	2.1	
Sugar & Sugar preparations	1.9	2.1	2	
Coffee & Tea	1.4			
Fats & Oils	1.2	1.8		
Other Foods & Food Preparations	6.5	6.3	7.5	5.5
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4	2.9	3.8	5.9

Category of Foods, 1996	Asia	China& East Asia	Southeast Asia	India Pakistan
Meat	22.6	26.2	23.7	16.9
Fish	8	10.4	8.2	4.2
Dairy Products & Eggs	12.1	8.5	12.1	17.4
Bakery & Cereal Products	13.9	13.4	14.1	14.4
Fruit & Nuts	13.4	13.1	13.4	13.8
Vegetables	11.5	11.5	10.2	13.3
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.1	1.3	2.5	2.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

5.3.2 The European groups

The households of first-generation immigrants from Europe have been separated into three groups: Northern Europe (UK, Germany, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Benelux, France, and Switzerland), Southern Europe (Italy, Albania, Greece, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Serbia, Slovenia (these last three only in 1992 and 1996)) and Eastern Europe (Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (and its successors), Esthonia, Romania, USSR (and its successor states), Hungary and the Baltics). There is not much cultural homogeneity to these groups. The sample sizes from Northern Europe are three times the size of either of the other two. Except for Eastern Europe, the sample sizes declined over the period, as immigration from Europe declined, a function of rising incomes and prosperity in Europe. The increase in first generation immigrant households from Eastern Europe may be a function of the disintegration of the old USSR; increased immigration from war-torn Yugoslavia would only show up after 1996.

The household size declined over all three periods from an average about 2.7 members in 1986 to 2.5 in 1996 (Table 18), except for first generation immigrant households from East Europe. Total weekly food expenditures were at their highest in 1992 (Table 20, Table 23), except for immigrant households from East Europe, whose expenditures increased steadily over the three survey years.

In terms of percentages, shares of food at home expenditure for the southern and eastern European groups were well over 75%; shares were slightly lower for northern Europeans. Food purchased from restaurants (the obverse of food purchased from stores) was therefore relatively low, except for North Europeans. These relationship are shown below in Table 30.

Table 30 Food purchased from stores and food purchased from restaurants for all Europe (%)

Year	Europe		North Europe		South Europe		East Europe	
	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.	Store	Rest.
1986	69.7	30.3	64.1	35.9	77.9	22.1	80.1	20
1992	67.7	32.4	59.5	40.5	67.7	30	77.9	22.1
1996	67	33	56.1	43.9	76.5	23.5	76.3	23.7

* Rest.= Restaurant

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

There were no clear trends or major differences (as there was with Asian shopping patterns) in store and restaurant expenditure patterns. There was a strong preference for shopping in supermarkets that rose over time (except for a small decline in East European shares), as shown below in Table 31.

Table 31 Food purchased from stores by type of store, European sub-groups (%)

	1986				1992				1996			
	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores	Supermarkets	Food Specialty Stores	Convenience Stores	Other Stores
Europe	77.7	11.9	3.7	6.8	77.4	11.6	3.1	8	80.7	10.6	2.1	6.6
North Europe	79.7	10.9	4	5.4	78.6	10.2	3.4	7.9	82.9	8.7	2.4	6
South Europe	72.7	12.8	3.9	10.6	75.3	12.8	2.7	9.2	79.5	11.4	2	7.2
East Europe	79.2	13.5	2.7	5.2	76.7	14.3	3.1	6	77.3	14	1.4	7.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

In terms of food preferences, the three European groups allocated more than one-fifth of expenditures to meat of all kinds by 1996; but this was a reduction from one-quarter of expenditures in 1986. The shift away from beef is clear in the data. There may have been a shift towards poultry; there may also be a shift from beef to pork, and there is a clear, continuing fondness amongst the immigrant households from South Europe and East Europe for prepared meat, which consists largely of sausages and cooked ham (but not bologna or wieners). There are no clear trends in fish expenditure shares amongst the three groups; fresh fish dominated the category, and shares were slightly under 4%.

The next most important share was allocated to dairy products. North European expenditures dominated the sub-groups, dairy shares of all three groups have been declining slowly over time. Most of this expenditure was allocated to cheese, and of that, it was "other cheese" that was chosen, not cheddar. There was a decline in the expenditure shares on fluid milk, and also a decline in expenditure on low fat milk.

There was a fairly substantial increase in expenditures allocated to bakery and cereal products over time for all three groups. In 1996, first generation immigrants from North Europe allocated more than 16% of food at home expenditures to these products; bread was a consistently important purchase, as was breakfast cereal. Pasta products were important for immigrants from South Europe.

Next in importance were fruits and fruit preparations, with fresh fruit

dominating the category. The share of expenditure was slightly reduced, except on the part of North European immigrants whose shares were constant. North Europeans allocated a smaller share to fresh fruit than the other two groups. The shares allocated to vegetables and fresh vegetables have generally increased over time: in the case of immigrant households from East Europe this is quite substantial.

Table 32 Comparative Summary Shares, European Sub-Groups, Major Food Categories, 1986, 1992, 1996 (%)

Category of Foods, 1986	Europe	North Europe	South Europe	East Europe
Meat	25.9	24.4	28.1	28.6
Fish	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.1
Dairy Products & Eggs	18.4	19.2	16.6	19
Bakery & Cereal Products	12.7	13.2	12.1	11.6
Fruit & Nuts	12.8	11.5	14.3	16.1
Vegetables	9.1	9.1	9.3	8.9
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	.2	2.4	1.3	1.8
Sugar & Sugar preparations	1.8	2.2	1.1	1.5
Coffee & Tea	3.1	3.5	2.5	2.5
Fats & Oils	1.5	1.6	1.2	1.5
Other Foods & Food Preparations	5.4	6.1	5.1	3.6
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	3.7	3.5	4.6	2.9

Category of Foods, 1992	Europe	North Europe	South Europe	East Europe
Meat	25.5	22.9	26.6	25.9
Fish	4.3	3.9	5.1	3.9
Dairy Products & Eggs	16.3	17	14.8	16.4
Bakery & Cereal Products	14.2	15.3	13.1	12.3
Fruit & Nuts	12.5	11.5	13.6	14.2
Vegetables	9.5	9.4	9.2	10.2
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.4	2.7	1.7	2.5
Sugar & Sugar preparations	2.5	2.9	2.1	1.8
Coffee & Tea	.2	2.2	1.6	2.3
Fats & Oils	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.2
Other Foods & Food Preparations	6.2	6.9	5.1	5.7
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4.3	3.9	5.4	3.8

Category of Foods, 1996	Europe	North Europe	South Europe	East Europe
Meat	21.7	20.1	23.3	23
Fish	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.9
Dairy Products & Eggs	16.2	16.5	15.5	16.5
Bakery & Cereal Products	15	16.2	13.7	14.2
Fruit & Nuts	12.5	11.5	13.4	13.5
Vegetables	10.4	9.5	11.2	11.3
Condiments, Spices & Vinegar	2.3	2.4	2.4	2
Sugar & Sugar preparations	2.3	3.1	2.1	2.9
Coffee & Tea	2.4	2.8	2	2.1
Fats & Oils	1.9	1.4	2.5	2
Other Foods & Food Preparations	6.9	8.8	5.4	4.8
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	4.3	4.1	4.7	4.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditure Surveys

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6 Globalization of Canada's Ethnic Food Market

6.1 Current situation

Consumer products are developed to respond to a certain demand, to satisfy a particular clientele and to meet the needs of these clients. Given the number of immigrants in Canada, today, there is no doubt that the ethnic food market is playing a major role in the dynamics of the Canadian agri-food sector. Considering only the groups studied in this report, we are dealing here with nearly 3 million people (2,732,150) across Canada (1996 Census data). Most are concentrated in Canada's largest urban centres, specifically Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary and Edmonton. To gain a sense of the importance of this market, we can use data from Statistics Canada's Family Food Expenditure surveys to get an idea of the economic importance of ethnic consumers . For the five ethnic population groups highlighted in the present report, food expenditures represent upwards of $6 billion annually, including more than $400 million in specialty stores (according to Statistics Canada data, for all the categories considered, the average weekly food expenditure in specialty stores equals $2.98 per person).

These nearly 3 million people generate considerable demand for ethnic foods and food products. In addition, the rest of the population is developing a considerable taste for ethnic food.

Any strategy aimed at satisfying this clientele must take into account future demand. That points to a growing market for ethnic food. Indeed, while the 1991 data quoted in previous reports demonstrated the size of this market in Canada, the 1996 data show even greater numbers, and it is safe to assume that the results of the next census will show even more growth. Several facts support this conclusion. First, an average of nearly 200,000 new immigrants a year, mainly from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and South America, will continue to settle in Canada's largest cities. Added to those who have already settled in Canada, the number of immigrants will continue to rise and, in so

doing, expand the market for ethnic food.

6.2 Factors which will influence the future of Canada's ethnic food market

6.2.1 Immigrants

Without a doubt, immigrants are predominately responsible for the development and growth of the ethnic food market in Canada, by virtue of the foods they demand which generate growth in the retail and food service establishments. In the coming years, immigration will continue to play a major role in changing the demographic structure of Canada, and the countries of origin of the majority of these newcomers will be the same as they are now, i.e. the countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the Caribbean. In addition to these forecasts, however, another factor must be considered in the growth of the population of non-European origin, and that is the birth rate. Certain studies and the Family Food Expenditure (FAMEX) data have shown that immigrant households generally have more members than households among the population at large. These larger-than-average families will provide a stable or rising base of consumers demanding high quality ethnic food. Stable or rising numbers of immigrants and immigrant families will also increase the base.

6.2.2 Travel

According to Statistics Canada, the favourite destinations of Canadians in 1995 -- after the United States and Europe -- were Asia, the Caribbean and Mexico. According to Clark (1997), Canadians are travelling overseas more and more frequently. Between 1986 and 1995, the number of overseas trips taken by Canadians increased by 55% in general and by 75% in the case of Asia, Cuba and Mexico. It is a well-known fact that contact with new food practices is often the first step towards adopting these practices, and trips to foreign countries often allow travellers to try out new foods. Travellers who experiment in this manner and who enjoy what they have eaten will want to repeat the experience back home in Canada and end up adopting new tastes and preferences.

6.2.3 Change in tastes and eating habits

While travellers to foreign lands may be the first to want to diversify the foods they eat, those who stay at home are becoming increasingly interested in adopting foreign foods. Is this because they associate or have associated with people whose eating habits differ from theirs? Is it because of mixed marriages and the mixed culinary habits they generate? A

greater number of Canadians reported a multiple ethnic origin in 1996 as compared to 1991, a phenomenon which leads to the adoption, or at the very least, the sharing of food habits thus far unknown in a large number of households. Is it the proliferation of appealing ethnic restaurants? Is it the normal change in attitudes which has led to a greater degree of openness to things that are exotic and foreign, to things that come from some other part of the world and do not necessarily resemble things we are accustomed to? Is it a question of health, which more than ever constitutes one of society's main concerns and is leading many to seek in the foods they consume the nutritional values that some ethnic foods offer? Is it the increased attendance at food shows, allowing the public at large to discover and sample foreign dishes? Is the development of the Internet, which is facilitating the proliferation and use of recipes for "exotic" dishes, contributing to this phenomenon. Are all these phenomena just fads? It is believed that all of these factors play a role; the important thing to bear in mind is that the ethnic food market will continue to grow and evolve in the coming years. There will be changes, no doubt, and the ethnic label may fall by the wayside in favour of terms such as global foods, but these trends will definitely lend a new face to the agri-food industry.

6.2.4 Influence of United States

As is the case with other fields, the agri-food sector feels the influence of proximity to the United States. The ethnic food market is enjoying unprecedented growth south of the border. Aware of this phenomenon, food companies have begun to court the various ethnic groups residing in the United States, trying to capture the largest share of the market. According to the consulting firm Promar International (1998) , the projected growth in the US ethnic food market should reach about 50% over the next decade. Already in 1997, the sale of ethnic food accounted for 7% of food industry sales, or $49 billion. A similar trend may be expected here. Promar International (1998) is forecasting that over the next decade, one out of every seven dollars in new spending on food will go towards ethnic food, and producers who ignore this market will put themselves at a competitive disadvantage.

A new trend has been observed in the ready-to-serve food sector: manufacturers are starting to mix together flavours from different types of cuisine in the United States so as to obtain a new product – hence the term fusion foods. Our neighbours to the south have introduced a melting pot of flavours, whereby the tastes and techniques of different countries' cuisines are mixed to create a special dish. In fact, fusion cuisine is actually "taking ingredients or techniques from more than one cuisine and creating new dishes with the results. Such things as wars, migration, trade and other forms of cultural intermixing lead to

the integration of culinary elements, especially in regions that are vulnerable to the influence of the outside culture. One example, are the cuisines of Burma, Malaysia and the Philippines, which show the influences of China, India and South East Asia" (Ohr, 2000). Today, chefs are fuelling the fusion boom with their exotic combinations, some of which are starting to emerge at the retail level (Brant, 1999). Furthermore, ethnic foods are no longer simply a restaurant phenomenon. The national palate is changing due to diverse demographics and a broader knowledge of ethnic products and flavours (Hormel Foods, 2001). Food is no longer seen as merely something we eat to survive; it is now prized for its newness and excitement, features that people are willing to pay for (Ohr, 2000).

Fusion cuisine is already a widespread phenomenon which is seen in all the ethnic groups considered in this report. Even cooking schools have taken an interest, and are offering fusion courses to teach their students how to apply cooking methods and ingredients from Asia, the Caribbean, South and Central America, Japan and other regions to the requirements of hotels and restaurants (Ohr, 2000).

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7 Conclusion

We are living in a constantly changing world; everything moves and evolves at an unprecedented speed. Every area of our existence is affected. In many sectors, there are multiple affects. The sources of Canada's immigrants have changed dramatically in recent years; one of the effects of this has been a radical change in the ethnic makeup of our country. But as we have seen in this report, people's eating habits have also undergone a transformation, leading to the popularity of ethnic food. This phenomenon must not be seen as a passing fad, but rather as the normal evolution of the globalization of the food industry. The demand for ethnic food is here and growing. All that remains is to satisfy it -- hence the need for Canadian producers, processors and distributors to become active in this niche. Ignoring it would give a leg up to foreign competitors, who could capture this market. By paying it more attention, Canadians can find opportunities not only in Canada and the United States, but overseas as well.

Clearly, Canadians are becoming active in this sector. Indeed, some of the moves have been exceptional. There is a growing market for foods with an ethnic flair and the food industry has to adapt in order to meet the new market demands. As immigration flows stabilize or rise, as immigrant family sizes remain at higher than average Canadian levels, and as household incomes rise, demand for new and different foods will stimulate increased imports in the short run and increasingly varied Canadian food production in the long run. A number of producers, processors and distributors across the country have been taking advantage of these opportunities for a long time now, and several are reaping the rewards today. But much remains to be done in this sector, and in the years to come more attention must be paid to the ethnic food market, for the good of Canada's food industry.

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